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INDIAN "COLONIALISM" A MENACE TO SOUTH ASIA

INDIAN hypocrisy on the colonial issue now stands exposed before the whole world. It is clear today beyond all doubt that India wishes to replace the public be damned. It is a term the West with her own brand of colonial exploitation—the colonialism of Indian labour, who owe their real allegiance to their mother country while wishing to enjoy full citizenship rights in this country. After all, whether a country is exploited by alien capitalists or alien labour (who blatantly behave as aliens by voting only for parliamentary representatives of their own race, remitting the major part of their earnings to their mother country, and remaining completely aloof from the cultural and other activities of the country of their so-called adoption) the fact remains that exploitation does take place by acknowledged aliens whose whole outlook is unashamedly opposed to the common interest.

No detached observer of the local scene can disagree with the above description I have given of the major Indian element in Ceylon. And for the Indian Government to demand as of right that this element should be granted full citizenship rights is not merely an insult to this country, but an ugly imperialist gesture of which the rest of the Commonwealth must and will take note.

To add insult to injury, the latest Aide Memoire received from the Government of India (May 4th) refers to a speech by Shri Nehru in which he stated that "all Indians in Ceylon were entitled to voting rights." The arrogance and utter unreasonableness of this demand savours of rank colonialism and is hardly in keeping with the views repeatedly expressed by Shri Nehru with regard to the French colonial regimes in Indo-China and India and his denunciation, immediately after war, of the Dutch regime in Indonesia. After all, if it's wrong for foreign capital to exploit a country, is it right for alien labour (who despite long residence in a country, continue to behave as complete aliens) to treat the land they live in as a mere convenience and as something which owes them everything and to which they owe nothing. This is the attitude of the greater part of the Indian labour which finds a living in this country. And the fact that the great majority of this labour are not genuinely interested in citizenship rights in Ceylon is proved by their refusal to accept these rights when they were repeatedly offered these rights by the old British regime on condition

that they merely signed a declaration that they were willing to become citizens of Ceylon. The present agitation on their part for these rights is a purely artificial one fostered by the Indian political hooligans, who are more concerned about becoming Members of Parliament than about really representing these poor, benighted folk who have been beguiled into trusting these selfish Indian dry fish kings and estate proprietors. The very circumstance that Indian labour in the past has been represented by these rich political hooligans is a parody of democracy. What common interests have these self-seeking men with the Indian labour whom they claim to represent. Would it not be better that some machinery should be devised whereby the Indian labourer entitled to the vote could be represented by someone closer to him, say, by an Indian schoolmaster, who would be in a better position to speak in the legislature about their needs and grievances. That Indian capitalists should represent Indian labour is an electoral farce in which, it is hoped, the Indian Government will not continue to acquiesce.

However, to revert to the phenomenon of Indian colonialism, and the latest pronouncement that every Indian in Ceylon is entitled to the vote, how does this differ from the colonialism of the British, the French and the Dutch except that in the latter case, the exploitation was carried out by capital while in the Indian case it is being carried out by labour with no permanent interest in the land they live in. After all, something is to be said for the exploitation of a land by capital in that the capitalist really risks his capital while he, at the same time, contributes his skill to the enterprise. And his success, even as an exploiter, brings wealth to a country and attracts further capital to countries which otherwise would have remained in a primitive condition. But the conduct of the old colonial

capitalist was nevertheless called exploitation because he took out an extortionate amount of capital in the form of dividends from the country in which he invested his capital. The fact that he did so constituted the gravamen of the charge against him. And the fact that he did so also proved that he had no permanent interest in the country in which his investments had been made.

Now, in what way does the exploitation of a country by alien labour (who have no interest in the country of their temporary adoption other than the benefits they could derive from it) differ from the exploitation of that same country by foreign

capital? Alien labour, too, takes out of a country a quite disproportionate amount of capital in the form of wages which they remit to their mother country.

By A. S. Morrison

But, of course, this is not exploitation because, it is said, Indian labour is really doing this country a great favour. As a matter of fact, if some of the ten million starving Indians in Chittoor, Madras, were to find their way here and were to find

(Continued on page 2)



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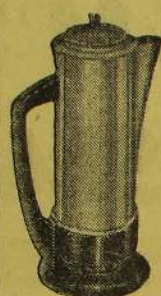
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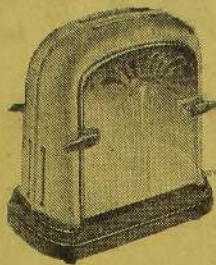
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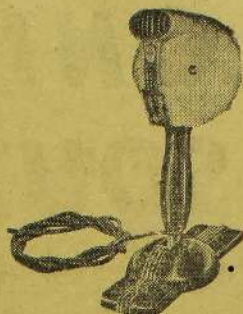
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INDIAN "COLONIALISM" A MENACE TO SOUTH ASIA

(Continued from page 1)

employment here, they would really be doing Ceylon a service even if they were to displace Ceylonese labour through some unscrupulous Indians or Ceylonese capitalist giving them employment in preference to Ceylonese labour. This has been the time-dishonoured argument of the Indian politician. But what are the facts? How did Indian labour originally come to Ceylon? Is it not a fact that this labour was brought here as indentured labour and utterly without the consent of the people of Ceylon? And is it not a fact that the Indian nationalists have repeatedly repudiated agreements entered into on behalf of India by the British where those agreements were not in the interests of India? But obviously the same argument does not apply in the case of Ceylon, and are agreements in regard to Indian labour in Ceylon brought here by the British binding on the Ceylon Government, despite the fact that the independent Government of Ceylon had no hand in those agreements. Indian interests are sacrosanct because India is a big country and Ceylon is a small country.

Nevertheless, despite the unpropitious circumstances in which Indian labour originally came to Ceylon, the Ceylonese people and their Government are fully prepared to grant citizenship rights to all Indians who can prove that they have a permanent interest in this country, and some 237,000 Indians claim to have that interest. After a proper and fair investigation of their claims there can be no doubt that they will be granted citizenship rights. But, as the Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, has repeatedly stated, he will not be coerced or intimidated into giving Indians here rights if they are not entitled to them, and to those who are entitled to these

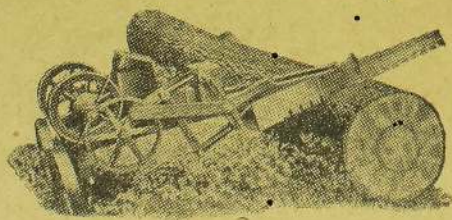
rights these rights will never be denied. But to the latest Indian demand that every Indian in Ceylon is entitled to and should be given voting rights, the answer has been and will forever be a categorical "No."

This little country has not got rid of exploitation by the Westerner (who is now here with the willing consent of the Ceylonese because his activities are beneficial to this country and because he is obedient to our laws) in order to replace it with the million times worse exploitation of that class of Indian labour who come here only for their own benefit and who send out of this country vast sums annually to enrich the economy of their motherland. If it is wrong for capital to take out a disproportionate share of its earnings from a country in which it has sought investments, surely it cannot be right for alien labour to send to their homeland a disproportionate share of their earnings just because the country of their adoption has provided them with better opportunities of employment than their mother country (a fact which no one can honestly deny). The sooner people across the Palk Straits stop talking about Indian labour having done Ceylon a favour by coming here seeking employment or coming here as indentured labour, the better will it be for the development of healthy relations between Ceylon and India.

However, if India persists in her attempts to ram down the throats of the Ceylonese the novel doctrine that if an Indian comes to work in Ceylon he thereby automatically becomes entitled to full citizenship rights, then India will leave Ceylon with no alternative but the dire necessity to resist the new Indian imperialism which constitutes a deadlier menace to the independence of this country than any imperialism of the past.

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The Joint Secretary of the Nuwara Eliya Branch of the U.N.P. is arranging to form a Youth League at Nuwara Eliya, at a meeting to be held on Saturday, the 17th instant, at the Town Hall.

The conveners of this meeting are: Mr. D. P. M. Weerasinghe, M.M.C., Jt. Secy., U.N.P., Messrs. T. Sriwardhana, V. S. M. Jayasekera and M. R. Jayawardena.

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Eardley Gunasekera PLEADS FOR A DEMOCRACY

IN a few days from today the people of Ceylon will go to the polls. The General Election will decide whether we will be able to pursue a democratic way of life or whether we are to follow through coercion and compulsion a dictatorial path. It will also decide whether we could silently enjoy the inestimable pleasures of freedom of discussion, freedom of free association, freedom of conscience, freedom of the Press besides the host of other benefits a democracy has in store for us. When Lord Bryce tells us that "democracy really means nothing more or less than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes"; or when Mr. Clarence Sheit tells us that democracy is "Government of the totality by the majority for the sake equally of each minority of one"; these descriptions leave a great many questions unanswered. Most writers, indeed, agree that democracy is incapable of accurate definition. We must look for its definition in something other than a formula, for all formulas are good servants but bad masters. But if we cannot be exact about the latter, we must be at least try to be clear about the spirit.

In Ceylon today, a democracy has a very special significance. Looking back into the pages of constitutional history in Ceylon one fact is plainly evident—that great political stalwarts of the past as Messrs. Ramathan, Ambrose, Lorenz, Jayatilaka and many others desired a greater measure of responsibility to be handed over to the people of this country by the British in their own administration. The country unanimously supported this agitation for the people felt that in the government of the land where they were to be affected it is nothing but correct that they should be consulted and that they should share in it. It is here that we see the seedling of democracy sprouting up. After 150 years of British domination we have at last succeeded in gaining our independence. We began on the note of democracy, on more responsibility and on a desire for more constitutional latitude. This was the zeal of the county at large. It is nothing but correct therefore that we continue in this vein more so because it is acceptable to the people than because it has proved to be a success in foreign lands. Despite these considerations we see today in Ceylon the Red Menace surreptitiously stealing in. Strange to say it has caught on with some of the brilliant brains of the land not because they see in it an authentic solution for our social evils but because in some cases it is the modus operandi of furthering their personal interests, and because of the peculiar intellectual attraction Marxism has its intellectual attraction nevertheless is attributed to the fact that it explodes liberal fallacies.

Marxism taught the bitter truth that progress is not automatic, that boom and slump are inherent in capitalism, that social injustice and racial discrimination are not cured merely by the passages of time, and that power politics cannot be eradicated but only used for either sinister or meritorious purposes. If we had to choose between two materialist philosophies, then no rational

human being will decide on the dogma of automatic progress, which so many right thinking individuals then thought to be the only basis of democracy. We had then to choose the course that lay between an extreme right which was designed to use power in order to subjugate human liberties, and a Left which was enthusiastic to employ it so that humanity may be freed. Western democracy is not materialist as it was in the armistice that ensued the wars. However it has taken two world wars and a similar number of revolutions to make it begin to understand that its main work is not to permit progress to do its work for it, but to give the world the option of world revolution by aiming at the co-operation of free peoples.

The ravages of Communism are too well known and we know the damage it has done in Western countries as Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and others. In Ceylon it has no place because our traditions, culture and religion do not allow a place for it and if despair, frustration and loneliness were the main motives for conversion to Communism, they were greatly vitalised by the Christian conscience. Here, too, the intellectual though he may have cast aside the dogmatic teaching of Christianity, felt its influences far more intensely than many of his unreflective Church-going neighbours. The emotional appeal of Communism lay precisely in the material and spiritual sacrifices it demanded from the convert. This may be termed masochistic or altruistic but, whatever it may be called the conception of an idea of active comradeship of struggle comprising of individual sacrifice and the abolition of class and race differences has had a compulsive power in Western democracy. Furthermore, the lure of the political party is what it offers to its members, the enchanting glamour of Communism was that it offered nothing to its adherents; but demanded everything notwithstanding the surrender of one's spiritual freedom and conscience. Is this the type of remedy we ask to apply to the social defects of this country? Do we want our individuality to be subjected to the arbitrary commands of a fanatic Marxist clique? Can we allow mankind possessed of body and soul, aspirations and enthusiasm, to be reduced to the condition of the herd? Readers, it is not for me to impose my will on you but rather for your conscience to formulate. Our choice is between Democracy and this thing called Communism. Your desire you must manifest at the General Elections.

The population of Ceylon consists of so many different races with age-long traditions, customs, religion, culture and ideals. In the face of these facts are we to replace this richly studded mosaic of variegated life by the sordid colourless Communist pattern? Whatever nationality we may belong it is natural that we have our own desires, longings and possessions. A democracy means your government in which you participate. A totalitarian regime means silent obedience. Modern trends have shown that civic consciousness is on the up-grade and people wish to voice their sentiments in governmental affairs. Just as much as we eat we like to know how are food prepared and what makes it palatable. The secret is co-operation and compromise not merely acquiescence. It is your choice readers that lies between totalitarian regimentation and democratic co-operation. You will do best if you vote with your conscience, with Democracy.



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WHY THE

By **C. E. Mackenzie**

(Continued from last issue)

OUR opponents say that we have not placed before the electorate a definite programme and that our Manifesto is a mere record of achievements. The simple answer to this comment is that our achievements are the best guarantee of what the nation can expect when the U.N.P. is returned to power. The U.N.P.'s record for the past four and a half years is well-known throughout the Island and more recently the millions who visited the Colombo Plan Exhibition; were afforded full opportunity to judge for themselves what the Government is doing for the social, economic and cultural upliftment of the people.

Our opponents on the other hand are required to place before the Electorate a definite programme of what they propose to do, because they have no record of achievements to rely upon. No political party which places a programme before the electorate in a representative democracy can ignore the social, economic and cultural issues. While all parties are agreed on these fundamentals, substantial differences arise in the method of executing their programme. There are two methods which are foreshadowed by all parties. These can be described as "evolutionary" and "revolutionary." The U.N.P. comes under the first category, while the rest of its opponents, the Freedom Party, the Sama Samajist Party and the Communist Party, come under the second category.

This distinction faces us with the further problem, the right and the wrong way in doing the right thing and the right way of doing the wrong thing. We have already commented at length on the approach of the different opposition parties to the problem which faces the country that it is unnecessary to weary the reader by repetition.

The Sama Samajists seek to establish in Ceylon a Workers' and Peasants' Government and destroy Capitalism. They assert in short the worn out Marxian theory. It is unnecessary to comment on this theory. The first objection against this Party is that the claim comes neither from the peasants nor from the workers but from the self-appointed leaders who are themselves capitalists. They live, they move and have their being in a strata of society far removed from the worker and the peasant. They practise the very doctrine which they condemn. Such an attitude is far from convincing in practical politics. Unfortunately they are able to gather considerable momentum because of their technique in anaesthetising the uninformed masses, particularly in the urban areas, but the plainest counter-attack is that throughout their four and a half years' career in Parliament, the Leftist leaders who now seek re-election cannot point to a single constructive scheme which they can claim to have put forward to improve the condition of the peasant or the worker. As against this the United National Party can point to a splendid record of service.

To begin with the U.N.P. realizes that the peasant and the worker are valuable assets to the State, and their happiness and welfare are indispensable to its progress. On this assumption the U.N.P. Government has done everything possible within the four and a half years at its disposal and has launched schemes

which are bearing fruit to the advantage of the peasant and the worker. These achievements were realized with all the handicaps of a changing world not yet recovered from the devastating effects of a total war.

The contribution of the U.N.P. is indeed remarkable. Let us examine these achievements in the minimum requirements of life—Food, Clothing and Shelter.

Food is a world problem today. It has been so for the past few years. Government subsidises rice, flour and sugar. These commodities are a State monopoly and a vast revenue is expended on their purchase in order to keep the standard of living as low as possible by making these available at a price much less than what Government actually pays. In addition to importing these commodities, Government has speeded up food production in order to attain self-sufficiency, but this is a far cry in view of the increasing population and climatic difficulties. Government is contending not only against local insufficiency but also world shortage. It ensures supplies through its own Co-operative Societies to every individual.

Statistics indicate that the living index in this country is the lowest in South-East Asia. The U.N.P. does not claim to have achieved maximum success. No revolution, confiscation of property or re-distribution of capital can increase the food supply. Therefore, it is ridiculous to imagine that the Leftists can suggest any practical scheme for reducing the cost of living overnight. We must admit that we have to depend on foreign countries for our textiles. When there was a shortage Government lost no time in adopting control measures but no sooner conditions eased controls were lifted and import licences were issued to Ceylonese traders; it even encouraged the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment to import textiles and today we can unhesitatingly say that there has been an appreciable drop in the price of textiles.

One of the biggest problems which faces the Government in post-war years is the Housing Problem. There are many factors which contribute to the scarcity of houses, over which Government has no control. During the war years building operations were suspended but the population continued to increase and Government departments and other public activities also became complicated, accommodation had to be found with the result that exploiting landlords took advantage of the situation and began to demand fantastic rents for their

U. N. P.?

Pereira

houses. Government stepped in and introduced legislations and established Rent Control Boards—housing schemes have been inaugurated in all local areas sponsored by funds from the Central Government. Even private individuals have been encouraged by the Housing Loan Scheme to build houses.

On the other hand Government has adopted its own housing scheme for its employees of all grades and there are indications that similar housing schemes would be made compulsory on mercantile and business organizations. One therefore would ask whether any Government could do better to ease the housing problem.

The peasant population throughout the Island are fully alive to the efforts being made by the U.N.P. Government for their Social, Economic and Cultural upliftment.

The Leftists very conveniently overlook the work done by the Rural Development Societies, the Community Centres and the Cottage Industries Organizations. Government has encouraged Animal Husbandry, Farming and are sponsoring colonization schemes and Village Expansion and Rural Hospitals. Before long Government will take up Welfare Work on a comprehensive scale and establish Adult Education Centres. It is also proposed to adopt insurance schemes against ill-health and old age, and when the Hydro-Electric Scheme is completed, every village home will have the opportunity of enjoying the modern amenities of electricity. These are no mean achievements for any Government within a period of four and a half years.

It will be well for peasants and workers to ask themselves whether they could have, assuming they run the Government, planned and achieved all these successes. They would do well to realize that the U.N.P. represents them in Parliament and their needs have been and will be given the fullest consideration. These are a few instances of doing the right thing in the right way. The Leftists are down on the Capitalists, down on Imperialism and down on everything foreign. We may well ask the question whether without foreign assistance, without ideas borrowed from states more developed than ourselves, could any Government have achieved these? They are down on everything foreign. What particularly irritates them is the so-called British Imperialism. We have outlived the old fashioned conception of British Imperialism which was centred on territorial acquisition and Colonial rule. British Imperialism exists throughout the world in quite another form, that is by its contribution to legal systems and its larger contribution to modern civilization. If we isolate ourselves we can never hope to make any progress.

By adopting what modern civilization requires us to adopt from foreign sources we are not destroying our nationalism but are giving nationalism a living force. Above

all we give reality to their freedom which we have won.

The Freedom Party, on the other hand, has also put forward a wholesome programme directed towards the upliftment of the workers and the peasants. So far as aims and objects go they do not differ materially from us but their main difference lies in the method of execution.

The U.N.P. endeavours to reach the same goal through private enterprise whereas the Freedom Party endeavours to achieve their object through public ownership, State monopolies and State appropriation of the means of production. All these are undoubtedly undemocratic measures.

The use of the expression "Social Democratic" cannot disguise this fact. If the small man is to be protected, monopolies must be curbed. The U.N.P., realizing this fact, adopted a judicious policy—restricting interference to industries and enterprises of public utility. The World War, however, compelled private individuals to surrender a great deal of their economic independence to the State. Consequently, Government was saddled with the necessity for interference in private enterprise, but no one can deny that the U.N.P. is gradually encouraging the people to regain their economic independence by removing a large number of restrictions and controls and the encouragement it gives to Ceylonese traders and business men. The removal of these restrictions had to be gradual in view of the extraordinary conditions imposed by the last war. We must not forget the fact that the U.N.P. took the reins of Government at a time when the World was still in a state of economic chaos and much of the evils arising from controls and restrictions have left their mark. The Freedom Party, on the other hand, claims to have diagnosed these troubles. They propose to overcome them by re-organising the economic life of this country in the manner set out in their Manifesto, that is, by nationalization and a planned economy. This is the method they suggest and yet they call themselves the "Freedom Party." The title Freedom is misleading because the writer boldly asserts that nationalisation and a planned economy would make self-government a farce and would destroy political as well as economic liberty.

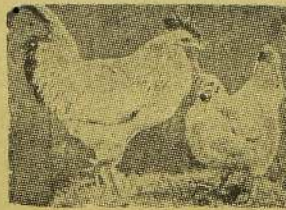
Let the voters ask how, while advocating such a policy, the Party can claim the title Freedom. Let not the voters be misled by such titles.

Mr. D. W. Wadd, writing on democracies pointed out that once a Socialist State was set up, it would be easy for some future Dictator to take control of the whole structure of the society and the economy of the country, however blameless had been the intention of the original founders of the Socialist State. These observations based on the Freedom Party's Manifesto are sufficient to show that it is fantastic to suggest that the Freedom Party is the Middle Way in relation to the U.N.P. and the Leftist Group.

The truth is that the Freedom Party is a Leftist organization because the points

at variance are negligible. The present writer, therefore reaffirms his original thesis that the U.N.P. is the only 'major democratic' Party in our country today. Let us face the polls with courage and confidence and in the full hope that the parties who are grouped together to offer a challenge to democracy will not achieve their object.

It is appropriate to conclude this series with a tribute to our Propaganda Chief who is mainly responsible for the continued existence of this journal and who has been and is the live wire of the Party. It has been truly said that but for Sir John Kotelawala's organizing capacity and tireless energy the U.N.P. would not be what it is today. It is the writer's hope that the contribution Sir John has made to the cause of democracy will be reflected in the Second Dominion Parliament of Ceylon.



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Friday, May 16, 1952

**LET NOT THE VOTER
FORGET!**

Within the next fortnight the most momentous election in the history of our ancient Island home will have been won and lost. Within this period of time it will be known whether we are to continue to enjoy those freedoms, which are the dearer to us now that we are an independent nation after 400 years of subjection, or whether Lanka is to be handed over to a ruthless totalitarian bondage, in which the religion of our fathers will be swept aside and the sanctity of our homes will be violated.

Let not the voter be carried away by the specious promises of the Marxists and those despicable politicians who are prepared to sacrifice the democratic form of government for personal power and glory. Let not the voter be deluded into believing that simply because the Marxists are prepared to form a government they will allow that form of government to continue a moment longer than is necessary for them to destroy it. Let not the voter live in the fool's paradise conjured up by the vociferous protestations of the Marxists that according to the revised testament of Lenin, religion may be tolerated. The whole fabric of the totalitarian ideology collapses if this is conceded for the annihilation of religion is the principle tenet of their abominable creed. To them religion is the opiate of the masses: to them religion is the only force that gives strength

to man to suffer persecution and yet save his soul.

It is not only in the spiritual sphere that a Marxist triumph will result in the negation of everything that we now cherish so much. As great a danger exists in the purely material sphere. Every Marxist holds the view that every man or woman whose services are utilised in the economy of any country must be allowed the right of vote. To them franchise and citizenship are merely the price of labour. This is, in a way quite consonant with their ideology for in their scheme of things neither the franchise nor citizenship rights exist as realities. When the right to vote does not mean a thing and when citizenship offers no privileges both become mere trifles. At the moment the Leftists and their stooges are maintaining a very discreet silence with regard to their attitude towards the Indian issue but it is now universally known that this issue was brought to a head through the machinations of the Marxists who ordered the C.I.C. puppets to dance to their tune. The very fact that the South Indian Communists have pledged themselves to send thugs to Ceylon to help in what they describe as the struggle for rights of their brethren shows that the mailed fist behind the move belongs not to "Karavadu" barons or tea magnates but to the sinister power that seeks to rule the world from behind the high walls of the Kremlin.

Let every voter, therefore, realise that every vote cast in favour of any totalitarian party or their self-seeking satellites is a vote cast for the annihilation of religion, the destruction of democracy and the opening of the door to hordes of foreigners who will oust the villager from hearth and home.

A PATRIOT'S PRAYER

"GOD give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honour—men who will not lie.
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And condemn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned men, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking."

J. G. HOLLAND.

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PEACEFUL uses of atomic energy are being developed in three fields—as a source of power, for research and for new products.

In the field of power, considerable progress has been reported in development of electric energy and in mobile power plants for ships and airplanes. Scientists see possibilities that atomic energy eventually may replace coal for development of electric power and gasoline as a propulsion fuel.

In research, the atomic energy commission has shipped radio-isotopes, developed by atomic energy,

throughout the free world for a study of disease. Isotopes, ordinary substances that give off rays of atomic energy, are used as tracers to study human and plant functions.

President Truman recognized the vast possibilities for peaceful progress in the future in a recent speech in which he said:

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What Youth Thinks

U. N. P. AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

A COUPLE of weeks more and we shall go to the polls. This general election is a fight for the survival of democracy against the philosophy of Marxism. An important factor is the casting of one's vote, which is a sacred possession that manifests one's ideals and convictions. Therefore let us not barter it for financial aids or consideration and let not our vote be influenced by thuggery, violence, rowdiness or corruption.

In the past four and a half years of the U.N.P. rule it has given us the right to vote and combine, the right to the free choice of an occupation, the right to justice, the right to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness, freedom of speech and writing. Freedom of speech means that we are free to express our thoughts and convictions, to criticize the proposals and actions of our political representatives and to voice our own opinions either in the press or in public or in private meetings. It also has given us the right to form political parties, trade Unions and voluntary societies. It also permits the individual to share in the conduct of affairs of common interest and to worship God in his own way or to refrain from worshipping Him—the satisfaction which is necessary to his welfare and last but not the least tolerance and a respect for personal liberty. Summing up the U.N.P. Government is based upon equality, Freedom and the dignity of the individual. These in short are the making of a democratic government. And it is truly and really a democratic government.

Here is a summary of some of its achievements:

Four months after the first parliament met we obtained Independence or Dominion Status and became an independent member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The government knowing that a planned economy was essential for social improvements and the development of the Island's economy set up the Central Bank and got a distinguished team of specialists from the World Bank to advise the government.

It was for the first time in the history of Ceylon that a 'PLAN' was introduced into the Budget. Due to this plan we have the first stage of the Hydro-Electric Scheme completed. The gigantic Gal Oya scheme is making impressive progress the benefits whereof will be fully realised in a few years more.

The Government has made a start in establishing a number of industries for the production of Cement, Caustic Soda, D.D.T., Paper and Oil. All our efforts are being made to eradicate Cancer, T.B. and V.D. diseases. Then there is the establishment of Colonisation Schemes, Free Education, Housing for the workers and the middle class and reducing the number of unemployed.

Rural Ceylon has acquired a "new look" as a result of the development of the rural areas. A sum of Rs. 4½ million has been set aside for its development in its last Budget. Already 1528 houses and 2,500 working class houses have been constructed and a great part of slum areas have been cleared. The nationalisation of the bus service to a certain extent and the passing of the Citizenship Act are further achievements.

Thus the achievements of the U.N.P. Government in the past are a guarantee of future advancement. When we go to the polls let us not be moved by the slogan of anti-democratic mob orators. But let us have the achievements of the U.N.P. and its work that has contributed to the prosperity of Ceylon in our mind. We can show our appreciation and gratefulness by casting our vote, to the United National Party for having given us stability, peace, prosperity and tolerance.

STANLEY WEERASINGHE.

PRESERVATION OF CITIZENS' FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

THE Battle is begun and the fight is between Democracy and Dictatorship and its allies. The General Election is drawing nigh and the battle cry of the United National Party as we are aware is "Democracy." The ultimate aim of this invincible party is to preserve the golden opportunities granted to the citizens through Democracy. Therefore as electors and citizens the main purpose should be to consider how Democracy will help the citizens and why Democracy should be upheld. There are many Parties with "sugar-coated" policies that are analogous to the clear-cut policies of the United National Party. Apparently these parties seem to be democratic minded but it is clear to everyone excepting the ignorant, that the ideas and reasons behind these parties are a real menace to the citizens and to the country as a whole.

The citizens of a democratic State have the right to work, a right ensured by the democratic organizations by the diminution of unemployment and the elimination of economic crises. The right to rest and leisure is made certain by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers.

Equality of rights to citizens irrespective of their nationality or race in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, social and other public activities are not curtailed in Democracy.

In conformity with the fundamental rights of the citizens and in order to strengthen the democratic system the citizens are privileged with the freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, holding of mass meetings, freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

It is the duty of every citizen to abide by the laws and the rules which are laid down for the welfare of the common good. Their duty should be to safeguard, fortify and preserve their fundamental and personal rights as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the democratic system which is the source of wealth, prosperity and culture.

The democratic system gives to the citizens the essential needs to live a peaceful life, it is very clear how DEMOCRACY becomes the SAVIOUR OF MANKIND, therefore it should be the aim of the citizens as well, to preserve Democracy, the only form of Government yet devised by man that brings Freedom, Unity, Prosperity and Peace.

For four and a half years Ceylon was governed by the United National Party. During this short period of peaceful reign it is an undoubted fact that the citizens of Ceylon enjoyed full freedom of Democracy. There is sufficient improvement for the citizens to be proud, which no others except the United National Party did within this short period under all difficulties. As there are no other alternative parties which could carry on the peaceful procedure of the United National Party citizens are therefore justified in returning to POWER the United National Party to complete their good work as they stand for Stability, Unity, Neutrality and Progress.

D. P. L. Somaratne

WHY THE U. N. P. DESERVES OUR SUPPORT

ELECTIONEERING is rampant during this season. We are daily worried by numerous candidates who seek election to Parliament. This is a very momentous period in our nation's heritage. We have to choose between democracy and totalitarianism. At this juncture it is best for us to argue out the question as to why the U.N.P. deserves our wholehearted and unanimous support.

(Continued on page 11)



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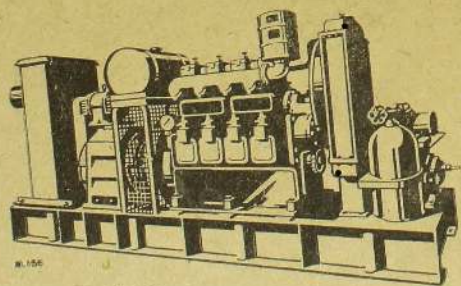
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Private Enterprise Miscalled Capitalism

By Jorgen

MANY people misunderstand what the word 'Capitalism' means, describing it as a system of exploitation of labour by "money bagging barons" or financiers whose slogan is "the public be damned." It is a term used over and over by the Communists particularly by the Soviets and on both sides of the Iron Curtain. To many the word carries memories of errors and abuses which did exist in the early days of the industrial revolution in Western countries, when the basis of wealth shifted from land to money (that is capital) invested in industrial and commercial ventures. Still the Communists believe that all the memories are contained in the term Capitalism.

But conditions today differ from those of fifty or a hundred years ago, when slavery was rampant—that relic of barbarism, which is now practised in Communist countries on a wider scale than ever before in history. Conditions are constantly changing and moving towards one goal, namely the greater well-being of the people.

The recently issued Manifesto of the Ceylon Labour Party states that the Party are "as much against the principles of ultra-Socialism which promulgates class hatred and a totalitarian regime of the proletariat based on the principles of Marxism or revolutionary Socialism, as we are against Capitalism." There again the term "Capitalism" is a misleading word which no longer is applicable to the present day private enterprise which is shorn of the ugly features of capitalism of the early days. The parrot cry of the unreflecting illiterate masses in this country "Dhanapathiya bangawewa" is meaningless today as it no longer describes the present system of financial enterprises. Private enterprise, in commercial and industrial ventures, is responsible for the dynamic expansion of various industries, providing work, the means of subsistence and opportunities for the greater well-being of an increasing population.

There is no denying that in Western countries the early period of

Capitalism contains many dark chapters of exploitation of the workers in those countries as well as in the colonies acquired in Asia and Africa by those countries. The novels of Charles Dickens reveal ghastly tales of child labour and the repressive system of near slavery practised in England and the exploitation of women and children in the factories. All these evils are now abolished. There is no imposition of long hours; these are now short and growing shorter. Unemployment has been reduced and is becoming a diminishing problem owing to new works being undertaken by private investors in building schemes in urban and rural areas, encouraged by the financial assistance from the Housing Loan Scheme; besides many new industries which have come into being to provide employment to many. Few realize that the question of the health and safety of workers is today regarded as a matter of deep concern by employers and that progressive capitalist employers have made ample provision for welfare work while relations between employers and employees have become an essential feature of management.

This new development among industrial and commercial ventures, namely recognition of the workers' rights is a standout feature of the new capitalism. The payment of dearness allowances, raising wages as determined by the Wages Boards; the grant of bonus and pensions, sick leave with pay, free medical treatment, insurance against ill-health and old age, are included among the benefits. The resultant improvement in living standards is certainly an impressive difference between conditions fifty years ago and today. All these must necessarily go a great way in increasing production and winning the loyalty of workers. However the distinction between the present system and that of the past is not clearly known to the people. They misunderstand the term capitalism which is no other than private enterprise though through sheer ignorance, they dub this new development in progressive commercial and industrial ventures, whether in factories, offices, shops or stores, as capitalism.

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A Sense of Security

By E. C. T. Candappa

THE Colombo Exhibition now on, apart from other things, is a splendid example of Democracy bracing itself to defend its threatened outposts in South and South-East Asia. The method is characteristically Democratic. There is a great deal of fresh hope for democracy through the birth of the C-Plan. This drawing together for the benefit of a common ideal is heartening, and is markedly opposed to contrary tendencies prevailing today to split into bitter, hateful, isolated and weak factions.

The Colombo Exhibition is generally spoken of as being "quite pretty, and so useful to students, you know." It is looked upon as a mere spectacle, and the attention is paid to portions of the show like which stall is the nicest, or the illumination and so on. That is a narrow angle to take. It should be viewed broadly, wholly, as the result of combined democratic effort.

The Exhibition is more than a spectacle or Fair. It is as the word Exhibition connotes a subjective display (of democratic progress). And even that display is essentially democratic. No one sided loud trumpet-blowing, no mere pompous cry of past glory, nor vacant flaunt of future promise, but a statement of concrete fact, with the option of drawing conclusions and inferences left with the viewer.

These results, with particular reference to the displayed achievements by Ceylon it must be noted, are of peaceful endeavour; progress based on a sense of security. This lesson is particularly sharp against a background of the turmoil of the great part of South and South-East Asia.

The great value of a sense of security can be truly appreciated only when one considers the state where it is missing. The horror of a war is that it takes away this sense of security! Growth and development are stifled. Minds get hunched and cramped. You do not feel inclined or free to build, being preoccupied with danger; or too listless or indifferent to do so with the

overshadowing fear that what you build may soon be broken.

The great fear in the world today is that of the horrible new weapons of destruction like the A-Bomb and H-Bomb. With their tremendous destructive power they could reduce all striving to futility and all planning to frustration. A feeling of insecurity is slowly gathering and tightening into tension throughout the world. However local the disturbance may be, the diagnosis is always the same—the search for freedom. It must either be an attempt to gain freedom or preserving freedom against onslaughts by freedom-curbing movements like Communism.

Amidst all this turmoil, we have great peace and security. We are now faced with the threat of being broken up into a divided nation, or of being crushed into a suppressed unit. Many so-called peoples' parties are wooing the masses promising paradises of freedom, when in reality they are all megalomaniacal, madly craving for power, complete, grinding power.

We have had freedom and a sense of security under the present government, which we will lose, maybe for ever if we lose it once. As a young nation we need this to build and grow. It is foolish to give up this freedom for the sake of a "promised land." If we are not satisfied with the freedom we have, there is provision within the machinery of democracy to improve it. The alternative of having a shy at spurious Red Freedom is a lean and reckless one. There is no having a shy and coming back. You have heard of purges, concentration camps, Siberia, the famous "Free Elections"—mere myths? Don't kid yourself. They are too true, as real as the freedom you now have.

It is foolish to give up freedom in order to learn its value. It is foolish to deliberately touch fire to experience a burn. You have felt heat and you can judge that excessive closeness to heat can be painful or disastrous. We can look around and see the streams of blood flowing with the course of recent history, through Red fanaticism; or suppression of people and minds under totalitarian regimes.

The differences we have hitherto had we have smoothed gently under a democratic system of government. The methods of democracy suit our national genius. From a free and happy nation we might become a frightened and curbed people.

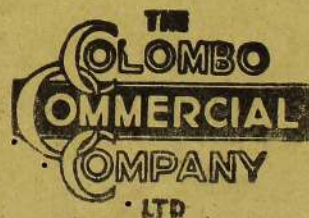
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THE OLD ROAD BUILDERS OF CEYLON

By T. M. G. Samat

OF Dutugemunu's road system we cannot speak more proudly than we can of our present road system. Traces of ancient roads discovered in Anuradhapura and Uva and traces of bridges in Dikwewa and over the channel of Maha Kadarawa Tank in Eastern Province not to mention Dutugemunu's 200-mile road from Tissa to Anuradhapura are only some of the evidence that there was a network of important communication lines in the Island. Yet all the evidence cannot indicate that there were our wide streets and double carriageway highways and such notable bridge structures or in other words, such engineering skill in the days Nissanka Malla had his now 765-year-old Gavru pillars (milestones) installed in Uva and Dutugemunu began his road building in 161 B.C.

Every 3-square mile of territory in Ceylon today has an average of one mile of motorable road. In France every 10,000 of population have 9.65 mileage of road; in the United Kingdom they have 4.05. Ceylon is not far behind with a mileage of road of 2.78 for every 10,000 of population and is certainly better than Spain's 2.48, Switzerland's 2.40 and India's 1.0.

With road surfaces of high standard, strengthened bridges and better side drains, roads in Ceylon from the days of the "Dust Fiend" have come a long way. They have certainly changed out of recognition from the days when roads in the Island were constructed for Military considerations.

What of the men who built our early roads? Their courage and devotion to duty under an unhealthy climate in the solitudes of jungles when elephants roamed even in the neighbourhood of Colombo can never be conveyed by exhibits of engineering skill in road building to be seen in the C-Plan Exhibition.

Ceylon's first road builders led adventurous lives and being entirely cut out of civilisation for weeks on end, they became tough in the process. It is somewhat difficult for us moderns to realise the gruelling back to nature conditions under which these men laboured, but that their lives were not entirely devoid of "fun and games" is evidenced by the many anecdotes of them which have come down to us through the years.

On one occasion one of the engineers was found heavy in sleep with a barrel full of blasting powder (which, for purposes of security had been kept close to the head of the bed) and a bottle containing a lighted candle stuck into it.

On another occasion, while a party was dining, the alarm went up that the house was on fire. In a few minutes the whole structure, which was built of temporary material, was in flames. With utter indifference, the table, chairs, glasses and a supply of wine were put on the road where watching the roof of the house fall with the expiring blaze, the party supped treating the whole affair as a joke.

Early in 1820, Sir Hardinge Giffard came out to Ceylon as Chief Justice, and at least once during his stay in Ceylon had the misfortune to incur the wrath of a section of these road builders. The result was not creditable to those who established the first means of communication in the Island but it is sufficient proof of their extreme devotion to their chief and idol, Major-General Edward Barnes, Governor of Ceylon to whom many important roads owe their origin. Sir Edward's energetic spirit had awakened interest in many important projects of the Public Works Department which had lain dormant for years, but it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to achieve all the success that Sir Edward attained without the devotion of the officers engaged

in these undertakings.

Sir Edward's tours of inspection was one of the means by which he gave encouragement to his men. On these tours he insisted on maintaining the same standard of living as when in Colombo and kept the best table at which the road-working engineers were "commanded" to be present.

On one of these tours there arose an urgent necessity for Sir Edward to return to Colombo immediately which occasioned disappointment to his guests. One of them gave vent to his feelings at the dinner in no uncertain language.

"It is too bad of the fellow treating us like this when we are working for him like mad all day, and getting drunk for him every night."

Sir Edward's loss of popularity however was but of short duration. It soon became known along the line of road that he had had a disagreement with the Chief Justice, Sir Hardinge Giffard, who was to leave Colombo for Kandy by the new road in a day or two.

The roadmakers held a drumhead court-martial appointing a judge advocate who elaborated a charge against the absent Hardinge. Sentence was duly passed on His Honour. The road was not completed throughout, and dreadful plans were proposed and prepared to "avenge" the Governor on the Chief Justice who was to travel in a palanquin and would most surely have found himself dropped through sundry trap bridges specially laid for him.

So many were engaged in these illegal proceedings against the head of the law that the plot was probably discovered. The Chief Justice, fortunately for the roadmakers, put off his journey. Undismayed three or four of them rode in disguise to Colombo where one morning they had the honour of meeting Sir Hardinge on his early ride somewhere in Grandpass. They carried out their intention of tilting at the Chief Justice and returned without being found out happy in the fact that they had "avenged" the cause of Sir Edward Barnes.

The U.N.P. Stands for Democracy

"If the Communists are returned to power there will be no more General Elections and no individual liberty." So said Senator (Dr.) Nicholas Attygalle presiding over a meeting held on Sunday, the 27th April, at the Sival Central School Hall, Ratnapura, supporting the candidature of the U.N.P. nominee, Mr. Cyril Attygalle, for the Ratnapura Seat in the House of Representatives.

Summing up the evils of Marxist doctrine, Senator Attygalle said that under a Communist Government if the people are distributed with lands, the yield of it would go to the State. All the people would be labourers under the State and their fate will be in the hands of a few.

The U.N.P., on the other hand, established democratic institutions and the individual is free. It had adopted a better system of distributing lands to the peasants. The various colonization schemes sponsored by the Government has given a great benefit to the villagers.

Mr. D. Weerasena said that he had been a member of the L.S.S.P. for 16 years and had been to jail six times during the war years and realising the evils and faults of it he left. He said that the Sama Samajists are covering themselves with a mask and they really belong to the same category as the Communists. He went on to explain the reality that the Communists totally opposed to religion, he challenged anyone.

(Continued on page 11)



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What Youth Thinks

(Continued from page 7)

Before proceeding any further with our discussion it is best to realize that we are just beginners in Parliamentary procedure and therefore the achievements of the U.N.P. whose attempt has proved to be an unqualified success. It is not very essential to point out the very many achievements in the spheres of rural development, education, social service, health, etc., but I wish to draw attention to the 16 gigantic schemes which are being manned by expert personnel and which produce enormous benefits to the people of Lanka. Before the U.N.P. took the reins of government we had to import most of our necessities. It was a case of importing from the cake of soap and the cheap cigarette to the thousands of tons of polished rice. But after 4½ years of expert supervision and careful planning we are able to manufacture most of our necessities. The rate of production has increased a hundred-fold and now Lanka is steadily advancing. I attribute our industrial development wholly to the activities of the U.N.P. regime.

I do not think that the unstable Opposition which boasts about things they would do, would have done at least one-fifth of this lot. Before they could have sat down to work it would have been essential or even indispensable to set up a board for the control of one another's tempers! It is generally easy to criticize than to do. Arm-chair critics can think of wild-cat schemes. They can think of our ancient heritage and of the days of King Parakrama Bahu. But can they do anything for the rehabilitation of depressed Lanka?

We need not listen to the injurious doctrine of the Marxists. Neither is it necessary to follow the "Bandaranaike way." Mr. Bandaranaike thinks that we can switch on to Swabasha in twenty-four hours. But I regret to state that this type of switching is not the switching of an electric plug. We would have to exercise a great deal of patience with public officers when Swabasha operates because the clerks themselves have to refer the incomplete dictionary for spellings. Swabasha is yet in the larval stage. Mr. Bandaranaike's 24-hour formula is illogical, impracticable and utterly impossible.

We need security, peace and stability. The U.N.P. has provided us with all the necessities for life. It has not taxed us greatly, neither has it confiscated any of our belongings. It has given us land, houses and every amenity for life. It has put Ceylon on the map of world affairs, and thus this, our minute speck, occupies a very prominent position in world circles. I am assured that the U.N.P. which is capable of greater feats than the ones already performed, will be returned by a great majority to Parliament once again.

Noel N. Hubert

"Weeragiri."

Station Road, Katugastota.

THE U. N. P. STANDS FOR DEMOCRACY

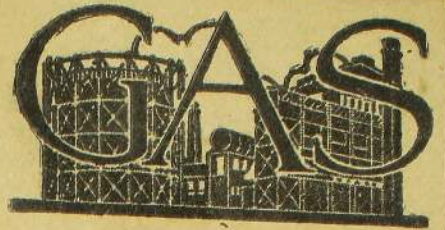
(Continued from page 10)

even Dr. Colvin or N. M. Perera to argue it out with him—the so-called "dialectical materialism."

Mr. C. E. Attygalle next addressing the gathering said that the U.N.P. believed in a policy of stable government and step by step development of Sri Lanka. Unlike the Leftists it did not promise any short cuts to prosperity which would end in mere chaos. He added that he did not make any definite promises at the last General Election, and the constituency on which the Government spent most was Ratnapura. He said that he not only devoted his time for his own constituency but also for the neighbouring constituencies, Nivtigala and Balangoda.

He appealed for the fullest support of the masses if the same respect and prestige of the Ratnapura constituency is to be maintained.

Mr. V. H. Abeyratne, Chairman of the Ratnapura Urban Council, Mr. D. S. Udumulla, Mr. E. Weerakoon and Mr. H. P. Gunasekera also spoke.



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